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**The Family and Youth:
Issues, Problems and Opportunities**



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Introduction

Historically, the family has performed a fundamental role in the process of socialization. The socialization of youth, however, is no longer seen as merely a simple transmission of types of behaviour, values and attitudes. First, there is a common perception that the family is in a state of crisis owing to: change of moral values, rejection of family ties and bonds in favour of individualism, economic stress and the breakdown of the family, a phrase often associated with explanations of social maladies. Second, most countries have experienced shifts in women's roles, declining fertility rates, delayed marriages, unmarried cohabitation, ageing populations and an increase in single-parent households as well as out-of-wedlock births. In addition, rapidly increasing changes in society combined with cultural, economic and other factors have contributed to a perceived distance between youth and other family members. Yet, the family remains at the core of the socialization process and has, in modern societies, a critical supportive role in education. It is generally agreed that what families invest in their young members in large measure determines their future opportunities and development.

Similarly, young people play a significant role in the democratization of both the society and the family. In families, youth are often the catalyst for positive change and serve as carriers of emerging trends and information from the greater society. They introduce new ideas to redistribute family responsibilities among male and female members and they promote intergenerational cooperation between the young and the elderly members of the family. Through their exposure to schools, peers and the media, young people are often the most informed members of families. Their aspirations and opinions are often a major source of strength in families, and their sensitivity to the changing environment adds immeasurably to the adaptability of families. Youth also contribute financially or materially to families, or by their own labour. In many cases, such contributions are vital to the survival of family members.

The global conviction that intensified action and international cooperation on behalf of families were needed as an integral part of the worldwide effort to advance social progress and development led to the unanimous proclamation by the General Assembly of 1994 as the International Year of the Family (IYF).¹ Increased awareness of family issues and improved institutional capability of countries to tackle family-related problems with comprehensive policies are among the Year's major objectives. By the same token, the tenth anniversary of the International Youth Year: Participation, Development, Peace (1995) provides an opportunity for a reassessment of the effectiveness of the existing youth policies and programmes and the philosophy upon which they are based. Changes in the context in which young people live, while not occurring uniformly, have nevertheless penetrated almost all aspects of life everywhere.

In order to better understand and appreciate the role of the family in the socialization of youth, the Secretariat for IYF and the Youth Policies and Programmes Unit of the Department for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development of the United Nations Secretariat, in cooperation with the Government of China and the All-China Youth Federation, organized an Inter-regional Meeting on the Role of the Family in the Socialization of Youth, which was held in Beijing from 31 May to 4 June 1993. The present paper is based on a working paper² commissioned for that Meeting by the United Nations and contains some major recommendations that were discussed and subsequently adopted by the participants.

I. Definition of adolescence and youth

Adolescence has generally been defined as being the time in a person's life between the ages of 10 and 19 years, and youth as being the time between 15 and 24 years. The present paper considers youth as beginning with mid-adolescence and deals with the whole group of young people from the ages of 15 to 24. While chronological definitions are statistically convenient, there is in fact great variation in the timing and duration, though not the sequence, of the biological, social and psychological changes that characterize this period of transition, which in most cultures is considered to begin with puberty.

In general, the terms adolescent(s), youth and young people tend to be used interchangeably. Adolescence is broadly regarded as the period of transition from childhood to adulthood in a developmental perspective, in which biological, psychological and social maturation takes place. The characteristics of such development are interrelated, dynamic and interactive, but each culture has its own ways of acknowledging the social and psychological aspects of maturation.

In many societies, social status as an adult is granted when a young person reaches physical maturity or a particular age, or gains a certain level of ability. Where menstruation has been recognized as the entry to womanhood for girls, early marriage and parenthood are often the norm. There may be traditional procedures, such as initiation ceremonies to mark the transition of young people into adulthood, although many of these are breaking down. In such societies, there is often a rapid passage from childhood to adult life and the young person is usually given guidance about the rights and responsibilities that accompany it. Adolescence, as perceived in industrialized societies, scarcely exists in such situations.

In other societies, particularly those with high levels of urbanization and industrialization, there tends to be a period of time when a young person is considered to be no longer a child, but not yet an adult. He or she may be biologically mature and physically capable of parenthood, but may still be seen as being socially, psychologically and legally immature for a period of several more years. Longer education and later marriage and parenthood are the common pattern in this case.

Even with the many differences that are found between (and even within) cultures in the ways in which young people are recognized to have become adult, it is still possible to identify common elements in their experience. They begin to look and feel different and must learn to cope with fundamental changes in their social roles and relationships and their rights and responsibilities. They find others responding differently to them and holding different expectations of them. As young people become more aware of themselves, there is a growing consanguine awareness of the wider world in which they must take their place as adults. They increasingly face problems with long-range consequences and must prepare themselves for decisions about work, relationships, marriage and parenthood.

In many respects, both the generic problems of transition and the long-term aspirations of young people today are similar to those of their parents. What is different for so many is the world in which they are growing up. So often, parents and others who would traditionally have provided guidance have little experience of much of what today's young people have to face. It is this factor that provides a most pressing challenge for both youth and families in a supportive, socialization role.

Youth is receiving increased attention today, partly because the experience of young people differs in so many ways from that of earlier generations, and partly because the number of young people is growing. Clearly, young people represent a major demographic, economic and political force, whose needs cannot be ignored. Furthermore, there has been a trend over the last 150 years for both boys and girls to mature earlier physically. The average age for the onset of

menstruation, for example, has dropped from 17 years in 1830 to 12.6 years in 1960, and there are indications that this downward trend is continuing. Improved nutrition appears to be the major factor. But while physical maturation is occurring earlier, the assumption of adult roles is being delayed in most urbanized and industrialized societies.

II. The socialization process

The family is clearly a powerful socializing institution and, because of its primacy, has a significant long-term influence on a child's personality and future life. Families touch the lives of adolescents on a daily and personal basis, exercising some degree of power on their actions and behaviour. The family remains a constant, influential element despite fluctuations in its relative importance when, from time to time, peers, the community and media may seem strong external influences.

Parental involvement in the socialization of youth varies widely. In simple communities, the association is often very close. As children accompany parents as they go about their daily business, young people are enabled to make a complete identification with their own future roles. Traditional societies contrast with modern cultures in the degree of emphasis given to the significance of parents. In most industrialized societies, children are taught to relate to contemporaries and peers from quite an early age. Similarly, much attention is given to these peer relationships by parents in assessing behavioural problems of children or in advising children on modes of conduct. In traditional cultures, however, children seem to be brought up to be more highly receptive to parental sway, the father particularly serving as a model for, and as a symbol of, traditional authority. Such a family structure, while based largely on an inappropriate gender-based distribution of power within families, provides social stability and continuity of behaviour between the generations; looks backward as much as forward and is highly resistant to social change. Yet, everywhere, the state of societal change exceeds all precedents and the process of transition to adulthood is now often more complex, difficult and painful for young people than it ever was for earlier generations.

Some argue that the socialization role played by the family is becoming less and less meaningful as society grows more complex, as people become more alienated from one another, and as formal agencies outside the family increasingly begin to take over the responsibilities that were traditionally entrusted to the family. An example of this trend may be in the realm of sex education, as schools in some countries begin to assume a greater responsibility for imparting knowledge and values concerning sexual behaviour. Furthermore, the enormous effect of the mass media in conveying values to both children and adults may tend to erode the traditional responsibility of parents to be the prime transmitters of values.

In general, emancipation from parental authority and emotional dependence is greatly accelerated during adolescence. In order to function effectively as adults, adolescents tend to detach themselves from their families and develop some independence in their behaviour, values and beliefs. The ease of transition to fuller independence in later adolescence depends, however, to a great extent upon the attitudes and behaviour of parents during the preceding years.

As they mature, adolescents are more likely to demand a nearly equal and active role in family discussions and decision-making. Families that allow latitude for the participation of young people in family decisions have, on the whole, fewer problems during the youth years than is the case in more rigid and authoritarian families. Young people need to learn to assume increasing responsibility for behaviour and decision-making within the context of their close relationships, if they are to be able to assume such responsibilities in their extra-familial relationships. Relationships with parents need to be renegotiated so that youth can assume greater autonomy while remaining connected with parents in a relationship of mutuality and friendship, rather than one predicated on parental control.

Two types of parent that seem to have the most positive outcomes for young people are the authoritative and democratic type of parents, both characterized as being highly responsive, moderately demanding and not restrictive. Democratic parents are less conventional, directive and assertive in their control than authoritative parents but, like them, they are supportive, caring,

committed and manifest no problem behaviour or family disorganization. Young people from such families are better adjusted in terms of mental health, self-image, social integration and the ability to make independent decisions than their peers from authoritarian homes in which parents exert rigid control or permissive homes in which parents are either uninvolved or are lax in controlling behaviour. Adolescents from rejecting, neglecting or indifferent families are the least socially competent, and suffer most from psychological dysfunction and from problem behaviour during their youth years.

Positive family influences on youth have received scant attention from researchers, compared with negative parental influences that are more widely documented. The conflict with parents so often described as the generation gap is perhaps not as real as it seems. It is much more common to find young people and their parents sharing the same fundamental values. The differences are likely to occur in relation to less important subjects such as style of dress and taste in music, restrictions in the use of money, or dating, choosing friends, driving etc. Parents, however, are often disturbed by their adolescent's adherence to peer standards.

Most family conflicts during youth years centre on the desire of adolescents for more freedom than parents think they are ready for. However, the unwillingness of youth to assume some of the responsibilities that parents feel should accompany increased maturity and independence is another common source of contention.

The adolescent subculture

If adolescents can find secure relationships with others of their own age, they are freer and abler to emancipate themselves from home ties. The support and values of contemporaries help in making the transition from parental control to individual autonomy. It is perhaps because of the value of this supportive network in meeting the difficult challenges of transition that adolescents place such great importance upon acceptance by their peer group.

The need for group security may also lead to the formation of in-groups, such as gangs and cliques. Members of an in-group feel especially close to others within the group and are very much aware of the distinction between being "in" and "out", between those who belong and those who do not.

In either case, relations with peers help adolescents to prepare for adult love and friendship and to reduce dependence on parental standards. To some extent, the peer group takes over the controlling function exercised by parents. This, in turn, expands and changes the repertoire of acceptable and non-acceptable behaviour. Impulsiveness or self-centredness, for example, might be overlooked by parents yet may not be tolerated by one's peers.

Delinquency and gangs

Contrary to the popular view, peer group activity alone rarely produces delinquency. The roots of delinquency lie across a much broader platform drawn from the social context within which it operates. Social delinquency is a symptom of broader problems in society, such as the alienation of many adolescents from culture and institutions, particularly young people in minority and low-income groups, and their inability to find jobs. Children from poverty-stricken homes are often ill-prepared to meet the demands of schools, which tend to value middle-class standards. Those who encounter a great deal of frustration and humiliation in their attempts to meet school standards may gather together in groups to express their defiance. They may drop out of school and, failing to find employment, turn to theft and acts of violence in their boredom, resentment and desire for the material things so temptingly advertised by the mass media. Delinquent gangs give them the status that they cannot get elsewhere. That desire for status is a crucial factor.

Poverty, broken homes and rejection by parents: all contribute to the other, complex forces that induce high delinquency rates in slum areas.

The peer group, however, does play a heavy role in enabling delinquent activity. The non-peer-oriented adolescent is less likely to engage in delinquent behaviour. Similarly, females, who have been traditionally socialized to adopt a passive role in respect to authority, have tended to be less frequently involved in delinquent behaviour. However, these same traditional roles make young women vulnerable to victimization by criminal activity and exploitation. Recent changes in patterns of female delinquency are attributable, at least in part, to positive changes in sex roles in contemporary society.

It has long been thought that delinquency is a problem of poorer urban youth and of school drop-outs. There is growing evidence, however, of a substantial amount of delinquent activity among middle-class adolescents, especially suburban youth. Individual delinquency, not associated with gangs, bad neighbourhoods, poverty or cultural conflict, is more puzzling. The subtle influence exerted by child-rearing practices is suggested by data pertaining to the influence of childhood discipline on later aggression and crime. Additionally, many severe family problems, such as domestic violence, are found in all types of families at all socio-economic strata. The fact that the tendency towards delinquent careers starts early has been pointed out in several studies in which delinquent or criminal careers have begun between the ages of 6 and 10.

Juvenile delinquency has been found to be correlated with a number of microsocial and macrosocial factors, which include large family size, lack of participation in groups, lack of religious beliefs, lower socio-economic levels, working mothers, divorced parents, parental alcoholism, low aptitude, poor school achievement, and with processes bringing about social disorganization such as rapid industrialization. It is not possible to establish simple casual relationships between the above-mentioned factors and the occurrence of delinquency, especially as many of the factors are interrelated. Furthermore, it is also clear that while such factors can be coincident with delinquency, they may signal other issues, such as inadequate supportive infrastructure for working mothers or benefit systems for the poor.

The changing social environment

The family serves as the primary agent of socialization, plays an important role in the transmission of human values and cultural identity and is a major focus for material and emotional support essential to the growth, development and well-being of its members, especially children and youth. In the broader sense, the family educates, trains, socializes, motivates and supports its children and young people, thereby investing in their growth and acting as a vital resource for development.

There is no universal pattern of families. Families may be nuclear or extended; they may consist of one generation or several; they may contain children and one or two parents or a number of adults who take on parental roles. They may be bound together by birth, by marriage, by adoption, by love and affection, or by economic or social advantage. Culture, religion and the political, social and economic organization of societies influence the ways in which families function, how they have evolved, and the ways in which they try to meet the physical, social and emotional needs of their members.

In traditional societies, the extended family, which may include several generations plus cousins, uncles and aunts, usually assists in the socialization of young people. This structure provides great social material and moral support to the young as well as a variety of role models preparing the way for adulthood. In this model, adults exert a relatively high degree of influence on youth, and yet young people have a broader base for consultation, advice and opinion than in nuclear families. In the nuclear family, consisting solely of parents and their children, there may be less adult control, and the young usually have greater freedom in choosing friends, education,

career, work and spouse. Both types can provide a basis for the healthy development of youth. In modern times, however, the traditional symbols of stability in the family have been threatened. The divorce rate has risen, the number of single-parent families has increased, and large numbers of young people have left their families prematurely and migrated to towns. Even where young people remain within their families, because of the radical changes in social and economic conditions, many parents feel ill-equipped to help their children prepare for experiences they themselves have never had.

Furthermore, single-parent families living in poverty are often forced to leave children unattended or compelled to take their older children out of school prematurely to enter the workforce. Poor parents often have neither the energy nor the time to invest in interpersonal relationships, resulting in neglect of their children's emotional needs. In extreme circumstances, they are compelled to abandon their children, thereby relinquishing their parental functions. Public concerns about the effects of such problems on children and the young and society, in general, has demanded the introduction of interventions, external to the family, for its protection and the fulfilment of its obligations, especially those of child care. This includes provisions for the material support of poor families, often based on the number of children present.

In some places, the ability of families to fulfil essential functions has been eroded to the extent that there is a complete functional breakdown, putting the health and well-being of their young at risk. Family-support functions and structure, and opportunities for the development of new relationships, roles, behaviour and skills appear to be weakened in relation to other societal factors as societies become more modern.

This changing social environment has important implications for adolescent and youth development. In so far as the changes include the breakdown of family functioning and premature separation from family relationships, youth are deprived of a factor that builds resilience and might otherwise protect them from adversity later on. Such problems also often radically alter the nature of the new relationships with other young people and adults, at a time when patterns for future relationships are being set, having a profound long-term impact on their development and lives.

The levels of intra- and international migration have increased. Young migrants often encounter a hostile environment and are vulnerable to a range of emotional and behavioural problems. Migrant youths include those who are homeless, refugees and victims of war. A disproportionate number of urban migrants are young; about one fourth are between the ages of 15 and 24, with a somewhat larger number of males than females. Children and young people together account for over 70 per cent of the total rural-urban migration in less developed countries. This is not surprising, as the primary motive for migration is to seek education or employment. This switch, from what is a traditional and often relatively stable rural society to an urban conglomeration that often lacks the infrastructure for family support, is one of the major barriers to the healthy development of young people today.

As technology grows more complex, more education and training are needed to achieve economic independence. While reproductive maturity is essentially biological in origin, economic independence is more often a result of national and international factors. With high levels of youth unemployment, young people are often trapped between a growing sense of individual maturity and a lengthening of economic dependence. In traditional rural societies, the transition from childhood to adulthood is fairly short, with predetermined roles waiting to be assumed. In such situations, young people can be reasonably certain that their lives will be substantially similar to those of their parents. In modern affluent societies, however, more support is available for young people during the longer periods of training and education required for them to fit into technologically sophisticated economic systems. Young people can be fairly sure that their lives will be substantially different from those of their parents, and that their children's lives will be substantially different from their own.

In transitional societies, young people may simultaneously be involved in two cultures: the traditional one in which their parents grew up and which they may still value, and the modern one that may be taught in schools and portrayed in the mass media. A similar clash of cultures may occur in the lives of young people whose families have migrated to another country or from a rural to an urban area. For a young person experiencing the natural stresses of the transition from childhood to adulthood, the tension is heightened, the frustration aggravated and the likelihood of problems increased.

In many countries, families and societies perpetuate gender inequalities in child-rearing. The profile of the girl child shows numerous deprivations. They are more frequently sick, less well-fed, more likely to be illiterate than boys, and lack the opportunities to better themselves. Like their mothers, they often work long hours to meet family needs, such as caring for their younger siblings, fetching fuel and water, cooking meals, shopping, washing clothes and cleaning homes, as well as looking after the old and the ill. Such responsibilities are often so demanding that they can be met only at the expense of their own development. While the burden of poverty has serious implications on the life of the girl child, other factors such as seclusion, traditional practices and customs and social sanctions for early marriage (in some cases at less than 10 years of age), further inhibit development opportunities for girls. These inequalities are evidenced in the lower life expectancy, literacy, school enrolment, participation in the labour force and in the social and political activities of girls.

Many children and youth of the working poor, whether in a rural or urban society, have hardly known a childhood. Parental expectations of their children's contribution often exceed helping with household chores and can include work outside the home in unskilled, low-paid occupations. The implications of the missed opportunities for education, recreation and normal family life on the development of these children and youth are tremendous, with repercussions on their interactions with family and society. More significantly, childhood is not used as a time of preparation for adulthood by these families, which binds them further into the cycle of poverty, illiteracy and inadequate environments for the child care of successive generations. The roles, commitments and expectations of the individual members in such families overlap as children and youth take on familial responsibilities and obligations that their parents are unable to meet.

Children and youth separated from or abandoned by their families because of armed conflict, poverty, breakdown of family ties (sometimes described as social orphans or street children and youth), learn to fend for themselves, sometimes at very young ages. These young people are extremely vulnerable to exploitation, drugs, crime, prostitution and other social problems, leaving them few choices and options for the future. In the case of the girl child, these conditions are accentuated through her additional vulnerability to exploitation.

The contemporary nuclear family is more often geographically isolated from its relatives than previously. More children survive than die, older family members are much older and the proportion of the old and very old is rising. Isolation and ageing can strain affective ties and are calling into question traditional roles and patterns of family functioning.

Another factor that is altering family functions, but with positive effect, are the changes in the roles and status of women: a new dynamic that is linked to longer education, literacy, the means to control fertility, changing economic values and the ability to earn. Another important development is the rise of the one-parent household. Nearly 30 per cent of all families in some countries, often concentrated among the most disadvantaged groups, belong to this type. Elsewhere, single-parent families arise as a result of war, migration and hunger. Finally, the acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) is already devastating a growing number of families, leaving many infants, children and youth orphaned, often in the absence of any viable support system.

Large numbers of families are at risk in a variety of circumstances, such as war, drought, famine, racial and ethnic violence, and economic deprivation. Poverty-induced labour migrants,

single-parent families, refugee and displaced families, and those whose livelihoods have been destroyed by environmental degradation are a few examples of such families at risk.

There are also groups of families which, for intra-familial reasons, lack the capacity to meet the basic needs of their members. These families may manifest a variety of problems, including domestic violence, drug and alcohol dependency, sexual and child abuse and neglect etc. Damage to childrens' and adolescents' mental health and psychosocial behaviour, and to their ability to form lasting relationships, is most commonly observed as a result of such serious family problems.

Despite all these negative forces, many families respond to challenge with surprising resilience and the essential functions of the family continue to be served under extreme hardships. Thus, groups of abandoned street youth sometimes care for their younger members as if in families. Local communities may look after their elderly and sick, supporting them emotionally as well as physically. Responsibilities, which are usually recognized as being those of the family, are often readily assumed by other groups. In some cases, such responsibilities become incorporated into the culture before evolving into national social policies and sometimes becoming laws.

The role of youth in socialization

Young family members can, and often do, play a considerable role in socialization within the family. They can have a positive impact on their parents' personalities. Parents can receive from their children information on many issues with which they normally do not deal. Young people bring into the family fresh ideas, information and propagate social, cultural and political changes germinating in schools and colleges. They motivate parents with new ideas, social and political thinking. Young people, with their idealism and receptivity to change, have significantly contributed to programmes and campaigns of social development. Immigrant and refugee parents often learn from their children the language and customs of the new country.

In family settings, young people have also contributed to bringing about a change of behaviour. Parents have been forced to adopt certain ideas because of their teenage children, and also because of their fear of being left out of the new and emerging culture.

There are many examples of youth-to-youth programmes and also youth solidarity efforts that serve to channel their idealism, energy and vitality for the good of others, particularly other youth. As members of organized groups, youth not only bring family values to the groups, but also bring new values to the family. They participate in the betterment of the community. They mobilize peers, family members and others in the community for a cause or on other social issues.

Young people also make significant contributions to sharing household tasks. In African families, where the number of young people is disproportionately high, youth in the family are often called upon to assume adult productive responsibilities, even at an early age. In Western culture, it is becoming common practice for young people to share many household tasks, even though young female members do more than the males. In many developing countries, it is mainly young girls who share the household tasks while boys look for extra family income. As a consequence, a large number of the young are part of the labour force. In industrialized countries, teenagers often work after school to earn money for their own consumption and occasionally to assist the family. Access to extended families is the only stable form of social support in many societies; children take care of their parents and grandparents and support them for the rest of their lives. Youth in families make major contributions to the caring of other family members.

III. Major issues and problems affecting youth

Because of the rapid communications that exist in modern society, the environmental stresses associated with psychosocial problems are more or less common to the whole industrialized and urbanized world. The way in which children or adolescents react to such stresses, however, is influenced by local conditions and varies considerably between and within countries. In general, nevertheless, three categories of reaction are frequently encountered. The first is a passive form of coping, which includes varying degrees of withdrawal ranging from school-leaving to dropping out of society in general, and to its most extreme form, suicide. The second is an aggressive form of coping, which includes juvenile delinquency, gang violence and terrorism. The third category includes some compromise reaction, such as instability at school or work, and substance abuse.

Socio-economically deprived children and adolescents are at higher risk of falling victim to psychosocial problems. Children and adolescents living in sub-optimal social and economic conditions are prepared less well for school, more likely never to attend and more likely to leave early. Furthermore, the socio-economically deprived are always among the most vulnerable to the effects of demographic, economic and political upheavals.

There is growing evidence to suggest that manifestations of problem behaviour are not isolated from, and independent of, one another. They include alcohol and drug abuse, cigarette smoking and early sexual activity. For example, heavy drinking and the use of some other drugs is often associated with antisocial behaviour and implicated in traffic accidents, a major cause of death and disability in young people. The use of tobacco, alcohol and other substances is associated with poorer performance at school, at work and in sport. Peer pressure plays a significant role in problem behaviour and may be particularly significant for the young person from a divided family, one that lives in an unrewarding environment, or who is less successful at school, in sport or in making friends.

The use of alcohol and drugs

Drinking alcohol is often seen as a way of appearing to be adult, which may be encouraged by the example of older family members or the media. If the family is either excessively tolerant or full of discord, the risk is greater. Peer pressure plays a major role in sustaining drinking behaviour, which is seen as a way of gaining social approval, although it may lead to the opposite, if associated with drunkenness. Drinking also often has a positive image among the young, being associated with toughness, rebelliousness, attractiveness and sociability. Some young people, unable to cope with the pressure to achieve some of the developmental tasks of growing up, whether in the family, in their social relationships, at school, or in seeking or doing work, turn to alcohol for emotional relief.

The average age of drug users has declined in recent years, and multiple drug use has become more common. The use of one drug is likely to lead to the use of many, often in the search for ever stronger effects and with more dangerous consequences. As with alcohol abuse, the drug user is likely to fail in many ways, at school, in relationships and at work. Many young people have turned to crime and prostitution to maintain their supply of drugs. Among the factors commonly associated with drug use are: family and peer tolerance or active approval of drug use; weak parental control and discipline; ready access to drugs; and alienation.

Suicide

Suicide rates among young people are rising in both developed and developing countries more than in all other age groups. In many countries, suicide ranks second after accidents as the leading cause of death among the young. Young men commit suicide much more commonly than young

women who, however, attempt suicide with much greater frequency, sometimes causing permanent damage to themselves.

The disruption of family relations is one of the most frequent causes of suicidal behaviour. The pressures arising from urban migration, isolation, intense competition at school and unemployment are other important stress factors. For some young people, the pressures become overwhelming, resulting in low self-esteem and depression. The causes of suicide may be multiple, however, including lack of any emotional support. Recent evidence shows that increased suicide rates are strongly related to the concurrent presence of all of these social factors. It may also be associated with drug and alcohol dependence and mental instability.

Violence and accidental and intentional injury

Social violence in which young people are both victims and instigators of aggression is dramatically on the rise. In the industrialized world and in many less developed countries, violent death, including suicide, murder and accidental death, heads the list of causes of mortality among those between 15 and 24 years of age, especially young men.

This violence is likely to have multiple causes. Some of the factors commonly identified as related to violence include poverty, unemployment, crowding and reduction in the control exercised in the socialization of young people. But individual factors are also likely to contribute, including experimentation, risk-taking, defiance of adult authority, drug and alcohol abuse, a sense of failure, frustration and hopelessness, and heavy exposure to violence in the streets. Other reasons for youth violence are the absence of recognized social status for the young, the loosening of traditional links within the family, community and society, and uncertainty about the future.

Accidents are one of the major causes of mortality and morbidity among young people aged between 10 and 24 years throughout the world. As much as half of all deaths in many countries are caused by accidents and injuries. Road accidents are often accompanied by intoxication with alcohol or other drugs. Other behavioural factors that contribute to accidental injury in young people are exuberance, lack of experience, a feeling of invulnerability and risk-taking. But environmental conditions can contribute greatly to risks, and it is often a combination of risk-taking with an unsafe environment that leads to injury.

Sexual harassment or abuse of young people is another problem that is receiving increasing attention. Intercourse with a minor (other than a spouse), whether forced as in rape, or enticed as is sometimes the case in incest or paedophile relationships, is universally condemned. Incest is particularly difficult to deal with since the adolescent who experiences it, most commonly a girl with a father or stepfather, is likely to face extreme hazards if she reports it. Typically, the abuser employs threats as a form of coercion and to enforce silence. Other family members may be implicated or are in a state of denial concerning the incestuous abuse. The victim may be condemned, punished, or the family broken up, and is likely to retain feelings of guilt.

Problems related to school

Formal education is becoming accessible to a greatly increasing number of children and adolescents each year. But school attendance does not necessarily mean that effective learning is taking place or that the education that the schools are providing is relevant to their students' needs. In families where the values, languages, attitudes and milieu are more distant from the school, such as among poor families in non-poor areas, rural families in urban areas, migrant and immigrant families, the stress of adjustment to the school setting will be greater than usual.

The pressure to perform in school is often a major source of problematic stress for young people. This pressure comes from all sides (parents, teachers, older peers) as a by-product of the

emphasis placed on education in industrialized society. Schools often adopt policies such as streaming (dividing students by performance levels), which greatly increase the stress resulting from the pressure to perform. Psychosocial problems may result if the stress of schooling is too great. The reactions to schooling stress are varied: phobia is common; antipathy, truancy and school-leaving are more widespread; and psychosomatic symptoms occur at all ages. In extreme cases, a quite small but significant number of suicides are associated with the stress of schooling.

Youth and work

Work is one of the important elements in developing the self-image of the adolescent. The employee role links individuals closely to other people of the same age group and, at the same time, anchors them firmly in the economic life of the community. It provides deeper social roots and enhances self-dignity and a sense of usefulness. With employment, the young person achieves a measure of financial independence and, in some cultures, it also brings standing in the family and a voice in family affairs. Financial independence also creates opportunities for marriage and family formation.

Failure at the economic level brings feelings of inadequacy and insecurity and may result in peer rejection. Such problems create disharmony in the family and lead to several family and social problems, such as vandalism, stealing and other criminal activity.

Leaving school and entering work

Three aspects of modern industrial society seem to generate problems related to school leaving and work entry: the trend towards prolonged, mass, general education; the fact that education is the key to social mobility; and the fact that the economic crises of recent times make it less and less likely that adolescents will be able to realize their chosen vocational aspirations. These factors provoke parental and school pressure on children and adolescents and result in stress.

When young people leave school and enter the labour market, they soon encounter the disproportion between high job qualification requirements and the low potential associated with unskilled employment. Widespread unemployment, which is highest among the young, or inappropriate employment (young people obtaining jobs that are below their qualifications and education) are key problems affecting young people.

In addition, the stresses resulting from prolonged schooling and a lack of suitable employment upon completion of studies undermines the incentive for education and may contribute to social problems. One common reaction is to withdraw from school before the completion of studies. When the educational and employment systems fail to deliver on expectations, youth are much more receptive to various forms of antisocial behaviour.

For many young migrants and those who have grown up in an urban environment, the town and city are unable to fulfil their aspirations; there is simply not enough employment available in the modern sector to absorb them, and huge numbers become part of the unorganized or informal sector, living in the squatter and slum areas that are growing more rapidly than the modern cities that they surround. Alcoholism, drug abuse and crime among adolescents and youth can often be attributed to the stresses of school leaving and work entry. Adolescent prostitution is another problem that sometimes arises out of economic hardship.

Sexual behaviour and reproductive health

Of all the changes that occur during adolescence, none arouses more interest and anxiety than those related to sexuality. For adolescents and youth, the way in which sexuality is dealt with in

their families, the degree and soundness of the information they are given, and the nature of the relationships they have with other people, including their sexual partners, will determine whether their sexual behaviour contributes positively or negatively to their overall socialization.

Many cultures are witnessing changes in established values about sexual behaviour, at a time when many of the traditional systems of preparation for adult sexual life have begun to break down. An important factor is that young people are reaching physical maturity at an earlier age as a result of improved nutrition, environmental conditions and health care.

Cohabitation among young people has become a common phenomenon and has resulted in many other significant changes, such as fertility pattern and inheritance rights. The distinction between children born in wedlock and those of unwed partners has become irrelevant in some countries. The number of children born out of wedlock has increased dramatically in many countries, presenting novel and pressing social policy issues.

Adolescent pregnancy is a serious worldwide issue associated with many health and other related emotional, social and economic problems. In developing countries, it frequently arises from early marriage, sometimes just after menarche, but in most countries an increasing proportion of young people are becoming sexually active at earlier ages and pregnant prior to marriage. The pregnant adolescent is often reluctant to seek medical attention early enough, because of fears of negative reaction to her sexual activity. Similarly, contraception to prevent pregnancy is often absent or ineffective in this population group, whether because of the pressure to conceive among married girls in traditional societies, or because of anxiety about the anticipated negative reaction of others to their sexual activity. Shortcomings in sexual education also contribute to adolescent pregnancy.

The damaging consequences of childbearing too young are not only bio-medical, however. Adolescent pregnancy or marriage is likely to bring an abrupt end to education, and arrest social and economic development. In extended family systems, the adolescent mother may have the support of kin in raising her child. With the nuclearization of family units and increasing numbers of women employed away from home, however, the traditional support systems of adolescent mothers are not available to the extent that they might once have been. The unwed adolescent mother and her child are likely to suffer great social and economic hardship. She may have to bring up the child single-handed in poor economic conditions while she herself is not sufficiently mature to provide the necessary psychological and material support for her child. Fathers of children born to adolescent mothers are generally uninvolved in the responsibilities of child care and only rarely provide material support to the mother and child.

A second hazard of unprotected sexuality in adolescence is the possibility of contracting one of the many sexually transmitted diseases (STD), including the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV)/AIDS. The incidence of STD among adolescents has increased markedly during the last 20 years. Young people are often reluctant to ask for medical help because, as with the pregnancy of an unmarried adolescent, they fear the reaction of the health provider and the possibility of disclosure to others.

The new scourge of AIDS poses special problems for a number of reasons. It is not only, at present, incurable but, unlike other STD, it is also fatal. Transmission may come through sexual contact, through the sharing of a contaminated needle among drug users, or through the mother to the baby. As indicated above, problem behaviour is often clustered, and this makes drug users among adolescents particularly vulnerable. For an adolescent to seek help for a suspected infection may well mean facing the suspicion that he or she has been sexually active, possibly homosexual and/or using drugs: suspicions that might be particularly difficult to tolerate. Furthermore, learning about the presence of an HIV or AIDS infection can have devastating personal consequences. Disclosure to others may lead to varying degrees of social ostracism and economic hardship. Despite vast publicity, many myths remain, perhaps particularly among the adolescent

population who have limited access in most societies to sound information about sexuality and sexual behaviour.

Where the traditional systems for providing information and guidance on sexuality, reproduction and parenthood and for supervising courtship and marriage are breaking down, they must be rebuilt or replaced. The problems faced by so many sexually active young people demonstrate that this has become a matter of urgency. If parents or other elders lack confidence or are embarrassed about discussing such matters, then their children will be forced to rely on their peers for their sexual knowledge, possibly with disastrous results. Most school curricula have little place for education about sexuality and it is often excluded on the grounds that it may lead to sexual activity. However, many young people are already adopting new patterns of sexual behaviour and the consequences of ignorance are invariably more harmful than those of knowledge.

IV. Opportunities for action

In order to plan and implement appropriate interventions in support of youth and families with young members, a sound knowledge of what constitutes proper development in diverse cultures is essential. Research is also needed to assess the impact of policies and legislation, to determine ways of promoting effective intersectoral and interdisciplinary action, and of identifying the best approaches to the involvement of young people themselves in planning and implementing programmes for their well-being. Knowledge alone is insufficient; the skills with which knowledge can be communicated and applied is also essential. For this purpose, the training of all those who can effectively interact with the young is needed. Advocacy, too, is important to achieve appropriate policies, legislation and public attitudes that support such needs. Whatever programmes are developed require systematic evaluation, taking into account both objective and subjective measures of effectiveness and impact.

Policies and legislation

The provision of services to prevent or correct problems arising among youth can be supported by policies and legislation in many sectors, including health, education, social services, criminal justice, youth sports and culture, employment and others. But policies are rarely effectively coordinated and often push in conflicting directions. Legislation is often inconsistent as is the case, for example, in the widely divergent minimum legal ages for contracting marriage, performing military service, driving motor vehicles, drinking alcohol, voting, leaving school and taking up employment. These difficulties are complicated by a lack of information about the laws that exist, as well as the failure to implement them.

It is certainly possible for legislation to be effective in addressing issues affecting youth. Examples include laws that reduce or eliminate advertising and the availability of, and accessibility to, harmful substances such as tobacco, alcohol or drugs; that strengthen the requirements for obtaining a driving licence; that introduce safety measures in the workplace; that raise the minimum age of marriage; and that permit and encourage the provision of appropriate sexual education and services to prevent teenage pregnancy. Policies and legislation, however, need to be implemented not only formally, but also by all those who influence the lives of young people. Similarly, legislation should not be seen as merely an instrument for control, but also as a source of protection for young people.

There is an urgent need to reconsider the present philosophy of social policies in many countries so as to determine joint objectives and integrated mechanisms to be oriented towards the family and youth within one framework. National family legislation, policies and programmes should be related to those concerned with youth so as to integrate better the formulation, implementation and evaluation processes. Both governmental and non-governmental organizations and agencies concerned with family and youth issues should coordinate their work more closely.

National youth policies should keep in perspective family issues, consider youth as important members of the family and include programmes in areas such as youth rights, age at marriage, adolescent health, housing, employment, poverty etc. Youth and family issues should be considered in the context of tradition, culture, values and the family background. The principal concern of programmes should be the overall development of youth as responsible members of the family, society and country.

The family should be assisted and encouraged to fulfil its responsibility of nurturing, and work as a conduit for the transmission of values, culture and information to young members of the family. Since family functions are diminishing as a result of modernization, there is a need for the State to protect, and provide services to, families especially those at risk, by the formula-

tion of appropriate family legislation, policies and programmes. These measures should result in the effective functioning of the family for the socialization of youth and youth participation in the socialization of the family.

All Governments should adopt a comprehensive national youth policy to be continuously reviewed in the light of emerging social changes, which should include the family perspective, the spirit of volunteerism, the principles of integration, responsible leadership, involvement and participation in decision-making and training opportunities.

The provision of services to prevent or correct problems confronting youth should be supported by policies and legislation encompassing various sectors such as health, education, social services, criminal justice, youth sports and culture, employment etc. Such policies and legislation should be conducted on an intersectoral basis.

All countries should establish or strengthen national bodies dealing with youth, or similar mechanisms, with the active participation of youth leaders, and representatives of business communities, national unions of family organizations and national family planning associations as well as other family-related non-governmental organizations.

The family-welfare sector

Families should be assisted and encouraged to fulfil their responsibility of nurturing, as well as to work as a conduit for the transmission of values, culture and information to young members of the family. Special efforts need to be made to educate and encourage young adults to practise appropriate parenting techniques, including shared responsibility for child-rearing. There is a need to encourage families to understand the importance of education for all members of the family, especially women and girls, and to enhance their involvement in the provision of formal and informal educational opportunities. At the same time, young people should be encouraged to share their feelings and aspirations with their parents, while parents should create opportunities for the involvement of youth in decisions affecting them. Established and effective lines of communication are essential to the support of families for youth welfare and the maintenance of intergenerational understanding. The ability of families to provide basic health care, including proper nutrition, improved food storage and clean water needs to be properly acknowledged and assistance provided. Young members of the family require appropriate information and other forms of support to prevent delinquency, crime, drug and alcohol abuse, irresponsible sexuality and the spread of diseases, such as HIV/AIDS.

Governments, as well as appropriate intergovernmental agencies and international relief organizations, should take urgent action against violence and atrocities committed against families, in particular against children and young women, in order to bring to an end such injustices, including all forms of discrimination, aggression, repression, violence, racism and segregation. Immediate treatment for the victims and their families should be provided.

Governments should set priorities and maintain a balance of care *vis-à-vis* the various sectors of concern to the family and youth, and provide services aimed at target categories of the population, such as those living in rural and urban areas, families at risk, and the educated and illiterate.

The social-welfare sector

Social welfare services differ from country to country. In some countries, financial assistance is an integral part of the family welfare service and families are provided with supportive assistance to bring up children and adolescents. In such situations, youth are often also provided with assistance to seek vocational or other training. In developing countries, the lack of resources make

such services generally unavailable, although there are often possibilities to provide guidance, case-work help and other assistance to deal with psychosocial problems.

Many young families, especially single-parent and female-headed families, find the constant need to balance work and family responsibilities to be among the most demanding aspects of daily life. Greater attention should be given to the reduction of stress caused by such demands and to the provision of adequate support systems.

Governments, as well as the private sector, should provide day-care facilities for children and the aged, nursing care for the elderly or infirm, and flexible work schedules. Young parents, both male and female, should not be penalized at work in terms of job security and promotion for meeting familial obligations.

The income-generating function of family units, especially in developing countries, is often crucial for their survival, particularly for very poor and young families. Governments, non-governmental organizations and the private sector should give increased attention to encouraging such self-reliance through productive family projects by such means as credit facilities, technical assistance, training, the use of cooperatives and market assistance.

Governments, non-governmental organizations and the private sector should pay urgent attention to the situation of young families living in poverty, resulting in such problems as street children and homeless youth. Young people from such families should be the target of youth programmes for income-generation and skills-training.

Social welfare services should be designed to enable families to meet their needs, cope with stress, develop harmonious interpersonal relationships and improve family functioning. Such services should also include assistance to youth in vocational and other training.

"Drop-in" centres should be provided to which young people may turn in the absence of their family or peer support systems. Phone-in or hot-line services have also proved useful to meet the needs of young people in stress.

Through a series of activities, guidance should be provided on the purpose, contents, methods and ways of the socialization of youth in the family in accordance with the situation confronting youth and the cultural heritage of the country.

Agencies that provide social welfare services need to be strengthened to accommodate growing needs. In view of the paucity of qualified professionals in the public social welfare sector, it is necessary to promote legislation that would provide incentives for qualified volunteers in the areas relating to the family and youth to ensure adequate and qualified support, irrespective of budgetary constraints.

The health sector

A number of models for adolescent health services exist, including special services for young people embedded in a general service; specialized services for adolescents only, which deal with all aspects of adolescent health; single-issue services, such as those provided for alcohol or drug problems; and health services for young people which exist in other contexts, such as the school system or youth organizations. It is generally accepted that young people can be helped best with an integrated approach, rather than by approaches that focus primarily on single issues. Many of the problems are interrelated, and share common roots. It is also likely that promoting the healthy development of youth will preclude the need for a curative response later. For the health sector to be effective, however, well-articulated policies are required that give priority to the promotion of health and prevention of problems. Such efforts must be coordinated across sectors, and

require trained staff who are knowledgeable and skilled in working with adolescents or in training others who influence their health.

Family members, school staff, community and youth workers should be trained in the early detection of warning signals of high-risk youth, such as young persons with poor self-esteem and a low self-image, who are unsuccessful in the eyes of peer groups.

The education sector

After the family, perhaps the most important influence on the socialization of young people are their teachers. The school, as a formal institution of learning, imposes a particular set of conditions on the educational process, which is quite different from the type of learning taking place in the family, in peer groups or in the community. The school system offers an ideal opportunity to reach many young people, and elements of family-life education are, in fact, sometimes to be found in subjects such as social sciences, biology and home economics. Unfortunately, where they do exist, they tend to be provided more for girls than for boys, often reinforce gender stereotypes and focus too heavily on traditional, home-making skills. School curricula are also sometimes dominated by a system of formal, written examinations, however, many aspects of family-life education, particularly those concerned with values and personal development skills, do not easily lend themselves to such examination. Consequently, family-life education is too often neglected because of the demands of a crowded timetable or else is seen by teachers, students or parents as having little value because it will not be of direct assistance in the search for a job.

While in some countries family-life education or its equivalent is being more formally and prominently included in the school syllabus, in most countries, formal family-life education is still in the early stages of development. Therefore, many of the children and adolescents currently in school do not have systematic access to family-life education.

There is a need to recognize that perhaps the most important influence on the socialization of young people after the family are teachers. Thus, the socialization function of education needs to be strengthened. Schools should be agents of cultural transmission and continuity and help transmit accumulated knowledge, skills and values.

Formal and non-formal education in families, schools and communities should be emphasized for responsible citizenship and leadership for, by and with youth, and the promotion of peace, mutual respect and understanding among youth across different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds.

Adolescent peer groups and peer-group relations, both in schools and universities and in out-of-school activities, need to be promoted as they serve basic functions in society. Information and materials with regard to such activities need to be disseminated so that the target sector will be aware of the programmes available. Student councils and other youth groups should provide young students with their own avenues to participate in society both at the level of educational institutions and public service activities. Programmes for youth who are disadvantaged and/or victimized on account of poverty are sorely lacking. Specific programmes addressing street children, drug addicts, the physically and mentally abused, drop-outs, under-achievers and other vulnerable groups need to be developed; furthermore, national programmes and plans of action for specific areas should include such programmes. The adoption of policy and legislation to support such measures should be encouraged.

Literacy and educational activities should be promoted to help young school drop-outs develop further the knowledge and skills acquired in school or through literacy courses, and to enable young people to find employment through appropriate information and skills development.

Where family education exists in schools (in such subjects as social services, biology and home economics), such courses tend to be provided more for girls than boys and to focus largely on traditional, female home-making skills. There is an important need to re-focus this emphasis on the equitable sharing of household roles between male and female family members and to teach such courses on a more systematic basis, including courses on family planning, education, appropriate sex education and the rights of the child, youth and women.

Concerted efforts are needed to educate and encourage young adults to practise appropriate parenting techniques where the responsibility of child-rearing is shared by both parents, resulting in vastly improved health, education and socialization of children.

The youth sector

Although school enrolment rates and the school-leaving age have generally been increasing throughout the world, a significant number of adolescents are not in school and must be reached in other ways. Here the role of non-governmental youth organizations at international, regional, national and local levels becomes particularly important. They can reach young people at all levels, especially out-of-school youth. Given appropriate technical and financial support, much more could be done by these organizations. Youth centres can also cater effectively to a variety of young people's needs, and can provide the advantage of enabling them to seek help without publicly acknowledging problems in more threatening circumstances. Such centres can also provide a good conduit for information and serve to identify problems on an individual or community basis.

Many youth organizations have accepted the importance of playing an even greater part than in the past, in helping young people to prepare for adult life. The greatest challenge, however, lies in reaching those who are the most disadvantaged and have little access to sources of information and guidance. Youth organizations, particularly those with a large membership, have direct access to young people, including many who are outside the school system. With well-organized structures, roots in communities, established systems of training, communication and programme development and networks of committed and experienced youth leaders, many such youth organizations are able to reach those who are the most difficult to contact.

The participation of young people in planning and providing services is a key consideration. Given the opportunity, they can best articulate their needs and comment on the acceptability of approaches intended to promote their development. Peers have a powerful influence on the behaviour of adolescents. With appropriate skills and support by knowledgeable adults, youth are in an ideal position to provide effective counselling, information and social support for other young people.

Policy makers, as well as researchers on family and youth issues, should direct increasing attention to the problems and challenges posed by the rural-urban migration of youth, as well as by the emergency situations of refugee families, including children and youth in especially difficult circumstances.

Youth services should be provided to young migrants who often encounter new cultural problems and, frequently, a difficult and unfavourable environment. They may have to face such situations without parental/family support, which may contribute to an increase in a number of problems. Among the most vulnerable are homeless youth, young refugees, and young victims of war and civil conflict.

The socialization roles of non-governmental youth organizations at all levels should be strengthened and involve both in-school and out-of-school youth. Such organizations should promote among youth the ideals of mutual respect and reciprocal rights and obligations within the

family. Voluntary youth organizations should be encouraged to undertake projects concerned with the delivery of family support services, especially targeted at families at risk.

The mass media, culture and recreation

Young people are strongly influenced by the images of popular culture reaching them through the various mass media. Such images have crossed cultural boundaries with unprecedented speed and intensity. Popular figures in entertainment and sports are influential and provide both positive and negative examples to the young. Much more could be done to promote the healthy development of youth through such channels.

The mass media should be utilized to highlight the importance and significance of family education and the participation of youth in the design, implementation and evaluation of such activities. Public knowledge of family education should also be increased to improve parents' understanding and sense of responsibility for family education.

Both governmental and non-governmental organizations and agencies concerned with family and youth matters should closely monitor the ways and means the media portrays the family and youth in society. Particular attention should be paid to the problems of how the girl child and female youth are presented in the media.

International bodies, especially the United Nations, should be encouraged to contribute to instilling desired values (via examples and/or role models) through the positive endorsement of value-oriented television and radio programmes that address issues related to the family, specifically youth.

Just as many countries have adopted logotypes to endorse appropriate environmentally friendly products, a similar endorsement could be made for value-oriented programming in various countries.

The role of the media is instrumental to the promotion of IYF, its follow-up, and enhancing awareness among families and young people. Once recommendations are put into action, Governments, non-governmental organizations and organizations of the United Nations system should pool their efforts to encourage the cooperation of the media for information dissemination.

Appropriate policies and measures should be adopted to enable and encourage youth to participate in cultural, artistic, sports and leisure activities, paying special attention to disadvantaged youth.

Families, schools and communities should not underestimate the importance of providing young people with opportunities and facilities (such as youth centres and recreational parks) to channel their ideals and energies in constructive ways.

The judicial system

Governments should pay particular attention to the imprisonment of young persons within the framework of international standards, in particular the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (The Beijing Rules)³ and the United Nations Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty,⁴ which require, *inter alia*, distinctly separate procedures and operations and a specialized juvenile justice system.

Family contacts are usually vital, as they provide emotional and psychological support, and are an integral part of the right to fair and humane treatment. Governments should provide

special training for professionals, such as police officers, judges, prosecutors and youth and social workers on the treatment of juvenile delinquents.

The research sector

Member States and the non-governmental organizations concerned should develop more action-oriented and applied research, particularly in specific areas such as refining the concept of youth in the national context; identifying subcategories of youth and their needs and aspirations; studying the role of the family in the socialization of youth as well as the positive role of youth in the socialization of the family, which has received scant attention; and reviewing existing policies and legislation affecting the status of youth in a given society.

There is a need for comprehensive data collection and interdisciplinary research on the interactive roles, problems and challenges of the family and youth in the 1990s and beyond. Both intersectoral and sectoral issues should be reviewed and evaluated, obstacles identified and forward-looking strategies formulated from the perspective both of the family and youth.

Notes

¹*Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 49 (A/44/49), vol. I, sect. VI.*

²"A working paper on issues and problems related to the interactive roles of the family and youth in society" by Shiv Khare, World Assembly of Youth.

³*Official Records of the General Assembly, Fortieth Session, Supplement No. 53 (A/40/53), sect. V.*

⁴*Ibid., Forty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 49A (A/45/49), sect. VI.*